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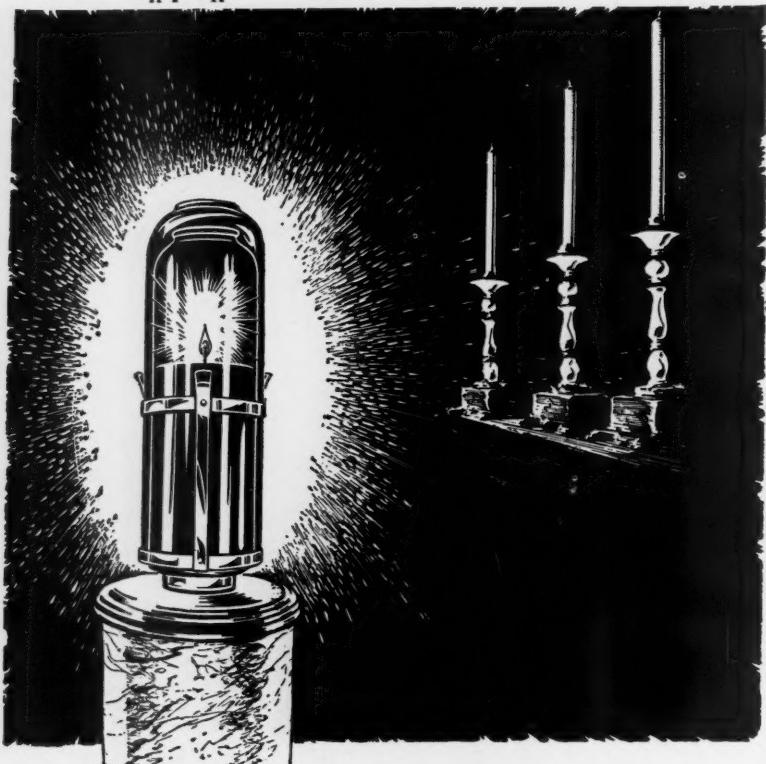
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America

National Catholic Weekly Review

Vol. XCVI No. 14 Whole Number 2486

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Morality

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America

Correspondence

If you buy books . . .

Morality and the H-Bomb

EDITOR: You have indeed helped toward a solution of the knotty problem of morality in modern warfare by publishing Thomas E. Murray's "Morality and the H-Bomb" (AM. 12/1). It should be of particular interest to military persons to hear a proposal on this subject by a man of authority, which not only recognizes legitimate military uses of nuclear weapons but also suggests avenues of progress along military lines.

I should like to stress Mr. Murray's statement that "our national and international security has been undermined largely by the rupture of the tradition of civilized warfare" [rather than by the development of nuclear weapons].

To appreciate the importance of such a statement, it may help people to know that the greatest single destructive action of modern warfare was not wrought by an atomic bomb. The A-bomb on Hiroshima caused the death of 71,379 people. Earlier the same year, on Mar. 9, 1945, one B-29 raid on Tokyo using simple incendiary bombs killed 83,793 people. . . .

GEOFFREY CHEADLE
Portsmouth, N. H. Major, USAF

EDITOR: Thoroughly enjoyed a second reading of "Morality and the H-Bomb" by Thomas E. Murray.

Mr. Murray's sound and clear-headed views on this all-important subject come as a breath of fresh air in an atmosphere clouded with the chaotic philosophy of "the end justifies the means."

For some, it will be a well-directed and well-deserved slap in the face; for others, a rude awakening—I hope.

Orange, N. J. WILLIAM G. O'BRIEN

EDITOR: Thomas E. Murray has provided a useful and practical pattern for translating universal moral principles into applications for our own age.

While I acknowledge gratitude and essential agreement with Mr. Murray in his essay, I should like to examine two aspects of it and to suggest ways in which it may be further refined.

It is Mr. Murray's thesis that the climate of totality must be rejected: that society must find a way to return to a notion of limited war before man can be trusted to handle his new nuclear instruments with

the wisdom and justice that the use of such potent weapons demands.

The climate of totality—a psychological conditioning through which men are taught that no war is worth fighting unless it is the "great war," that no war can be "great" unless its antagonist is the dedicated enemy of mankind, and that no peace is worth negotiating unless it is the final peace—is a historical and social fact of American society. That it remains the prevalent American thought is demonstrated by our wholesale rejection of the Korean incident for its failure to "go all the way."

In pursuit of Mr. Murray's limited war, I should like to demonstrate a positive way in which Catholic journalists can be of service. One of the touchstones of the climate of totality is the concept of the enemy which is entertained. It is axiomatic that the "great war" cannot be fought against a little enemy. For, if war is worth fighting, by the standards of totality, it must be against an enemy who has committed a colossal outrage or who, by his very nature, constitutes a monstrous threat to some abiding verity—such as democracy, peace, humanity.

Propaganda—a Must

The Axis nations in the late war were motivated not only by ideology, but by a complex of economic and cultural motives and interests. Not all of these were of equal weight, and the most offensive could have been separated and discarded in a limited peace. But it had become necessary for the United States to emphasize the atrocities of a sick German mind and to distort the conventions of a non-Christian Japanese mind in order that the enemy might appear to be simply and inseparably dedicated to the destruction of all that we hold dear.

The activation, then, of the American will to war is dependent upon the creation of conditions of totality; and these conditions, at least in part, are dependent upon the attribution of motives of uncluttered totality to the enemy.

If this contention is true, then one of the principal ways in which Catholic journalists can contribute to the ends which Mr. Murray suggests is by re-examining the bases of our attitude toward the Communists.

In the early stages of the alert against communism, there was little time or opportunity for a reasoned separation of the

(Continued on p. 400)

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Current Comment

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME

Pius XII on World Problems

The secular press described the Holy Father's 18th annual Christmas message as one of the strongest anti-Soviet speeches Pius XII has ever delivered. The Pope himself seems to have anticipated such a reaction when he rejected in advance any accusation that he was pushing for a deeper East-West split or somehow acting in conflict with the peaceful mission of his office.

In reality, the address was a balanced, statesmanlike analysis of the dangers and challenges facing humanity in our present crisis. It was the message of a responsible world leader. Men can ignore its counsels only at grave risk to our civilization.

The Pope's emphasis on the United Nations was a new thing in papal discourses. This support, even though tempered by criticism of recent actions, should strengthen the authority of the world organization. Moreover, his detailed treatment of President Eisenhower's aerial inspection plan shows the great importance the Holy Father attaches to it.

The major portion of the Christmas message is a profound diagnosis of the "false realism" of our day. Here is material for an entire year's consideration by a study club. We hope to comment in coming weeks on various points raised by the Pope.

Welcome to More Refugees?

Pravda, the official voice of Red Russia, charged on Dec. 19 that the current visit of Vice President Nixon to Austria to study refugee problems was a "scheduled act of crude interference in the affairs of other countries" and an "act of hypocrisy."

World opinion knows that this country has been in the forefront of those that are proud and happy to provide a haven for the heroic Hungarians. President Eisenhower, backed by the

obvious desires of the American people, is searching for ways to do still more.

We have already agreed to take 21,500 refugees from among the present 145,000 who have fled to Austria. Some 73,000 are still in that overburdened country and Mr. Nixon is exploring the possibility of our receiving as many as 50,000.

The continuing desire of the American people to do still more was made clear in the statement of American labor leaders to the effect that as many as 100,000 could be smoothly absorbed into our economy. To facilitate matters, the AFL-CIO executive committee has urged affiliated unions to take in without initiation fees any Hungarian worker who holds a union card in his native land.

To end on a further note of justifiable pride—of the 21,500 this country is now committed to receive, 12,000 have already been guaranteed haven by the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

. . . Home in Oklahoma

It looked like an ordinary letter or perhaps a Christmas card, stacked with dozens of others in our holiday mail. What a surprise, when we opened it, to discover that it was a most remarkable message, all the more moving for being so modestly and graciously phrased.

The letter came from a lady college professor in Oklahoma. She lives with her mother in what we imagine to be a typical Southwestern home—painted white, with some flowers around it in summer and a big wreath out for Christmas.

Our correspondent had a question to ask. How could she arrange to take two girl students from Hungary into her home? To whom should she write? What steps need to be taken?

We telephoned the New York office of Catholic Relief Services-NCWC, and were promptly given the information

our correspondent desired. CRS is only too happy to do whatever it can to help. The hard-working NCWC agency suggests that all those who, like the generous teacher in Oklahoma, wish to open their homes to refugees should direct inquiries to Msgr. Aloysius J. Wycislo, director of the Resettlement Division, Catholic Relief Services-NCWC, 149 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. We hope the busy monsignor gets a lot of letters like the one which came to us.

Catholic Controversy

The term "official" appearing on the masthead of a Catholic paper is, as Archbishop Brady of St. Paul put it recently, "always an asset, sometimes a handicap and not infrequently a misleading caption." For several years past, Catholic editors have been struggling to find a way to convey the exact meaning of "official." A satisfactory solution is not proving easy.

Take, for instance, a recent episode involving Msgr. George G. Higgins, director of the NCWC Social Action Department. His column, "The Yardstick," is syndicated by NC to many diocesan weeklies. One subscriber to the service adopted the practice of prefixing to this feature (but not to the other columns) the notice: "The views expressed in this column are Monsignor Higgins' own. They represent a Catholic opinion, but not necessarily the Catholic opinion." The column's author protested being thus singled out. He argued (rightly, it seems to us) that such a disavowal, if it is used at all, should be affixed to the rest of the syndicated features, and to the editor's own views as well.

The unnamed diocesan weekly has since discontinued "The Yardstick." This its editor had a perfect right to do. We wonder, though, whether dropping columns or avoiding issues just because they are controversial really solves the problem of the "official" Catholic press.

The element of controversy is no sure criterion for judging whether what appears in a Catholic paper is "Catholic" or not. The Church's social program would not have gotten very far if the Catholic press after 1891 had soft-pedaled Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* just because, in the eyes of many Catholics, it was "controversial."

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Stop the Filibuster

When the Senate of the 85th Congress convenes this week, a number of us, Democrats and Republicans, will move to change Rule 22—the filibuster rule in the Senate.

Not since the Reconstruction Era at the end of the Civil War has civil-rights legislation been passed into law. Civil-rights bills in the Senate have been talked to death eight times since 1938. Numerous other civil-rights bills have died because of the threat of a filibuster. This happened only last summer when a civil-rights bill passed the House but was not even considered in the Senate.

I

The filibuster, or the threat of a filibuster, has killed not only civil-rights legislation but other important bills as well. When progressive measures have not been killed they have, more often than not, been watered down to meet the demands of their opponents because of this Sword of Damocles which hangs over the Senate.

The villain of the piece is the present version of Rule 22, adopted in 1949. It provides that debate may be limited only by a vote of two-thirds of the Senators "chosen and sworn"—or by 64 positive votes. A motion to limit debate has passed the Senate only four times since 1917, when limitation of debate was first provided by the Senate Rules. No motion to limit debate has been successful since 1927. In only three of the 22 attempts have as many as 64 votes been cast to limit debate—and this has never been done on a civil-rights bill.

The reason is simple. Twenty-two Southern Senators with only eleven allies can now keep a filibuster alive. As 64 positive votes are needed, an absent Senator is in effect casting a vote to prolong debate. The crypto-allies of the South can fail to appear or can feign sickness, and their absence will count as votes to support a filibuster. Thus, this section of the rule locks the door to any meaningful civil-rights legislation.

But Section 3 of Rule 22 throws away the key. It provides that there can be no limit of any kind on debate when the Senate moves to consider a change in the rules. Even 90 Senators could not stop a filibuster on such a motion. If the Senate had said in 1949, when the present version of

SENATOR DOUGLAS of Illinois is a Democrat, long known for his efforts in behalf of the civil rights of Negroes.

Rule 22 was adopted, that no civil-rights legislation could be considered for 25 years, the situation would be exactly as it is now.

II

In almost every way the Senate begins again when a new Congress convenes. All consideration of bills, resolutions, treaties and nominations begins anew. New committees are appointed. The slate is wiped clean: the proceedings start from the beginning.

In the past, however, the Senate, by acquiescing in them, has accepted the old rules passed on from Congress to Congress. If the Senate of the 85th Congress does this again, there is no chance to break a filibuster or to change Rule 22.

But Article I, Section 5 of the Constitution states that each House may "determine the rules of its proceedings." Under this explicit constitutional provision the Senate need not acquiesce in the old rules, but can adopt new rules, just as it begins again on bills, resolutions, treaties and nominations. We shall, therefore, move to adopt new rules on January 3. The Senate of 1957 has this right, just as did the Senate of 1789. And new Senators and re-elected Senators must not be deprived of the right to determine the rules under which they shall be governed.

Our view is that until new rules are adopted the proceedings will take place under general parliamentary law. Under parliamentary law, Jefferson's Manual and the precedents of the Senate from 1789 to 1806, a majority of the Senate can limit debate. This is done by moving the previous question. This majority, if it has the courage to do so, can then adopt new rules and a new Rule 22. In this way, and in this way only, can the chains of the filibuster be thrown off.

III

Unless this is done, the pledges made by both Republican and Democratic parties on civil rights are meaningless and hollow. What is at stake is the dignity of the Senate and its ability to function as a democratic legislative body. Only if this effort is bipartisan can it be successful. Equally so, if it is bipartisan, it will be successful. A small minority must not be allowed to prevent, forever, even the consideration of what the overwhelming majority of the Senate and the country desires.

SENATOR PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Private Schools in Malaya

Despite reports of discrimination which reach us from time to time, there is no general pattern of hostility toward mission schools in Asia, India and the Malayan Federation, for example, seem to be at opposite poles in their attitudes toward the church-related school. On Dec. 13 Bishop Oscar Sevrin, S.J., of Raigarh-Ambikapur, India, protested what he called a "deep-laid conspiracy" to starve the Catholic schools of his diocese out of existence. By way of contrast, on the following day an NC News release from Singapore announced the passing of legislation in the Malayan Federation which, if adhered to, will prove a boon to Catholic education there.

The Malayan law not only recognizes the right of the private church-related schools to exist. It also recognizes their right to Government subsidies. These subsidies include capital grants for buildings, teachers' salaries and building maintenance. Catholic schools probably will be able to select and train teachers at Government expense. In addition, religion is given a place in the curriculum of all schools.

More interesting perhaps is the reason behind the legislation. The Government believes that a non-discriminatory policy where schools are concerned will make for greater unity among the people. It is unfortunate that such common sense does not prevail in other countries of Asia, particularly in those which make so much of the need for harmony and understanding among men.

Nation on Wheels

If AMERICA readers were a cross section of the U. S. A., chances are that three out of every four persons perusing this item would belong to automobile-owning families. One of every seven gainfully employed readers would be making his living producing autos and trucks, or distributing, servicing and driving them, or selling insurance on them. To such an extent has the auto industry come to dominate the U. S. economy. All these and a host of other interesting facts are now available in the 36th edition of *Automobile Facts and Figures*, published by the Automobile Manufacturers Association.

Only a few giant companies assemble most of the cars on American roads, but several hundred thousand firms have a hand in making, selling and servicing them. General Motors alone has 21,000 suppliers. About 275,000 firms are engaged in selling cars or the gasoline to run them—or tires, batteries and sundry other accessories. In 1954 these dealers had total sales of \$40.5 billion, and 1954 was a slow year. Americans are said to spend twenty-five cents of every dollar on automobiles.

This spending is fairly general. It has to be, with 52 million cars on the road. That means one motor vehicle for every two and one-half people in the land. Do the protagonists of the proletariat in the Kremlin know, we wonder, that five out of six of our skilled and semi-skilled workers and five out of six of our "peasants" (farm operators) own their own cars? As a Swiss visitor to our editorial offices kept saying last week about the canyons of Manhattan: "C'est vraiment formidable!" It sure is.

Books Anywhere?

The American Book Publishers Council is much concerned with the free flow of books in our American democracy. It publishes for that purpose a monthly *Censorship Bulletin* which keeps interested parties abreast of all and any moves around the country tending to limit free access to all and any kind of reading matter not proscribed by law.

The ABPC, let us admit immediately, plays fair. Having, for example, distributed reprints of the article in the October, 1956 *Harper's* by John Fischer, which attacked the National Office for Decent Literature (NODL), ABPC was prompt to distribute also the reply by Rev. John Courtney Murray, which appeared in *AMERICA* (Nov. 3).

But if ABPC plays fair, it does not always think straight. In its December bulletin it still rebukes the NODL, and now on the grounds that the use of "any list" of objectionable literature is "wrong in principle," because "by the private judgment of a single group all others are denied the chance to buy and read what they please."

This argument, as we understand it, rests on a presumed "right" of any

American citizen to be able to find *any kind* of books (not proscribed by law) *anywhere* books are sold.

This seems a wide and wild presumption. That all reading matter not declared illegal ought to be available somewhere (in a public library, for instance, for the consultation of those who presumably have reason to read it) may be granted. But that an American freedom or right is being violated because Kraft-Ebbing, say, cannot be found at any corner kiosk has to be denied.

Freedom to read is not coextensive with freedom to find any book anywhere.

The New Code Appraised

Martin Quigley, with whom the late Fr. Daniel A. Lord, S.J., collaborated in writing the original (1930) Motion Picture Production Code, has published some very important comments on the revisions recently adopted by the Motion Picture Association of America. The remarks appeared in the Dec. 18 *Motion Picture Daily*, which Mr. Quigley edits and publishes.

As "father" of the original Code, Mr. Quigley was very properly called in to advise on the projected revisions. His remarks, then, are of weight in allaying the suspicion that changes were introduced because the industry supinely yielded to demands that the Code's moral provisions be weakened or even scrapped.

The original Code was remarkable, states Mr. Quigley, because "it involved the flat-footed acceptance of the thesis that the producer is responsible for the moral influence of the entertainment he puts before the public." Now, after 27 years of experience with the working of the Code, the industry "has reaffirmed and preserved inviolate the basic moral principles and provisions of the earlier Code." More, these principles "have been better defined and set forth in more logical order."

It is indeed a "meaningful fact" that the Code's "original purposes and character should have so well survived these many years." But survival as a lifeless document means little. The Code must survive as our Bill of Rights survives—through intelligent and vigorous application.

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Christmas and New Year's Afterthoughts

Having become surfeited with "I'm Dreaming of a White Chris-muss" on the radio, I turned to two lines in that good old Protestant hymn, "O Little Town of Bethlehem . . . The hopes and fears of all our years, Are met in thee tonight." (Incidentally, we forget the White Christmas thing was sung in an Irving Berlin wartime play by a homesick Northern U. S. soldier stationed in Australia, where Christmas falls in midsummer. However. . . .)

The hopes and fears of all our years certainly met in the turning of 1957. What memories! Berlin, Poznán, Poland, Hungary. . . . Bloodshed and turmoil, yes; but hope, too, for these great events proved two things: first, that the so-called indoctrinated students and young workers in Germany, Poland and Hungary, at least, had not really been imbued—Socialist though they were (never having known real democracy)—with a spirit of solidarity with the Kremlin; and secondly, that in the event of a universal war, the soldiery of the satellites will not be loyal to Soviet Russia. Thus a fear which the West had entertained has been dissipated. But fear remains. . . .

These very hopes engendered fear in the free na-

tions. Suppose the Kremlin, in despair at disaffection in the satellites and in the USSR itself, should launch a madman's war against the world? This is no idle fear, as was evidenced on election eve by the President's little-noticed order to our Atlantic and Pacific fleets to take precipitately to the open seas, and to our big bombers—B-47's and B-52's—to take to the air for fantastic periods. All this was professedly to avert another Pearl Harbor and Clark Field disaster. But perhaps fear engenders hope. . . .

Maybe Eisenhower did wean Nehru away from his obvious leanings toward Soviet Russia; maybe even that mischief-maker here and abroad, V. K. Krishna Menon, will get his come-uppance and go home for good. Maybe Joseph Broz "Tito" will recover his instinctive Croatian independence of outsiders; maybe Gamal Abdel Nasser, no Arab certainly, will be repudiated by the Arab league. Maybe the hungry Hungarians will get bread and freedom; maybe both Germanies will be reunited in peace; maybe Northern Africa will be pacified in peace and justice; maybe even Britain and France and the others will be warm and well-fed this dire winter. Maybe South Africa and our Southern States will see that racism is a suicidal policy (witness Hitler); maybe. . . .

I could go on and on. But maybe I should end with *Adeste Fideles, Laeti triumphantes*—Come all ye faithful, joyful and triumphant. Hope is a theological virtue, along with faith and charity.

WILFRID PARSONS

Underscorings

CARITAS CHRISTI UNION, a secular institute for women, organized in 1937 and canonically erected in 1950, has now some 500 members in three continents. Women of all trades and professions, living as lay persons, bind themselves to the evangelical counsels and dedicate themselves to loving God and making Him loved. Literature may be obtained from the Union, c/o Rev. Timothy M. Sparks, O.P., 7200 Division St., River Forest, Ill.

►THE MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY Institute of the Catholic Press will hold a conference Jan. 18-19 in Cleveland on the topic of how Catholic publications can avoid implicating the Church in statements they print. The conference is the second in a series on the relations of the Catholic press with the doctrine and authority of the Church.

►A SPECIAL KIT to assist pastors and Catholic groups in preparing for

Catholic Press Month, February, 1957, is available from the Catholic Press Association (150 E. 39th St., New York 16). It retains features which have been found most useful in previous years' kits and adds new ones. Price, \$1.

►THE POVERELLO MEDAL of the College of Steubenville, Ohio, was awarded on Dec. 14 to Mother Anna Dengel, founder and Superior General of the Medical Mission Sisters. The college, conducted by the Third Order Regular of St. Francis, awards the medal annually to a person or organization conferring great benefits on humanity. The Medical Mission Sisters, founded in Washington, D. C., in 1925, have been active for many years in India, Indonesia, Africa and elsewhere.

►A CHICAGO TRUCKERS UNION is offering 24 scholarships, divided evenly between Loyola University and Northwestern University, to children of

its members. The union—Chicago Truck Drivers, Chauffeurs and Helpers Union, Local 705 (Ind.)—expects to spend about \$17,600 annually on the scholarships.

►VIRGIN MARY, QUEEN OF POLAND is the title of a booklet published by the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 145 E. 53rd St., New York 22, in commemoration of the "Vows of King John Casimir" in 1656. By these, the king dedicated Poland to the Blessed Virgin, proclaimed her Queen of the Polish Crown and pledged himself to seek a good social order for his people (31p., \$1.25 plus 10¢ post-

►THE BISHOPS OF COLOMBIA at their annual conference early in December sent a message of gratitude to the U. S. hierarchy for relief supplies sent to Colombia. After an explosion in the city of Cali last August that caused many deaths and much damage, Catholic Relief Services-NCWC sent \$10,000 worth of medical supplies.

C. K.

Editorials

Reflections on a Condemned Film

The two editorials which this Review has devoted to *Baby Doll* and to the dereliction of duty by the Code Authority (AM. 12/15; 12/29) were disagreeable but necessary tasks. It is never pleasant to reflect on the gross lack of taste and the lowering of moral standards that make possible the showing of such types of "entertainment" and the brazen advertising that promotes it.

These remarks, then, are not directly a further excoriation of the notorious film. Enough has surely been said by now to guide thinking on that subject, especially by Catholics.

Two elements in the affair, however, may still be a puzzle. Critics of the film have honestly felt that, while condemning the picture as a revolting case-study in degeneracy (*Time* for December 24 did just that in the most forthright terms), they had to pay tribute to the acting and the photography. This may have led many to wonder whether the ultimate judgment on the film had to be that it is "artistically" fine though "morally" bad.

This is a false dichotomy. An artistic product—a painting, a novel, a film—is good art if it has the integrity, the "wholeness" that is demanded, and therefore attainable, by the medium in which the artist works. Many elements go to make up this integrity. Some of these elements may be admirably handled, some less so—and the product will still be good art, even if not perfect. But if any one element is simply botched, the whole will simply not be a work of art; it will be distorted, not "true."

Now, one of these elements is the *rational* appeal which the work exercises. It is not rational for the artist to present, or for the one who contemplates his work to view as acceptably pleasurable, such things as brutality, perversion, degeneracy—in a word immoral actions presented without at least an oblique comment on their immorality. Acting and photography, however admirable *in vacuo*, do not make "artistic" a film with such an irrational appeal. Good art—judged precisely as art—cannot be immoral.

The second puzzle occasioned by the film is the fact that in England the equivalent of the U. S. Legion of Decency gave the film an "X" rating. This means, as English authorities have explained, that its showing is restricted by law to adults and that "it should be seen only by those adult Catholics who feel that it is essential for them to see it." When the U. S. press reported that the film had been "approved" for adults by the English "Legion," much was made of the supposed fact that Catholic authorities in our two countries could not make up their minds about the film's morality.

It would have been honest journalism to point out to the U. S. reading public the quite different circumstances which obtain in England. Since English children under 16 are not allowed by law to attend films rated for adults, much of the problem that faces the U. S. Legion of Decency is solved over there at the very outset. But here any youngster with the admission price (and parents who don't care) is an easy prey to moral infection.

Clearing the Suez Canal

With the final withdrawal of British and French troops from Egypt on December 22, the time has come for straightforward talk to the Egyptian Government. The Suez Canal urgently needs clearing if world trade is not to suffer further. Little progress has been made in this direction. This is solely because of the dilatory tactics of President Nasser.

Though vaguely worded, the UN resolutions on the Suez crisis, by any reasonable interpretation, called for the beginning of salvage operations immediately on the cease-fire agreed to by Britain and France. Action to clear the Canal was to proceed simultaneously with the withdrawal of troops from Egypt. Yet, as the last British and French troops boarded their transports on December 22, only the north end of the Canal was free

of obstructions. By deftly summoning up one pretext after another, President Nasser has seen to it that the rest of the waterway, which remained under Egyptian control during the course of the Anglo-French invasion, is still blocked.

The chief pretext for Egypt's refusal to cooperate with the UN—the presence of an Anglo-French expeditionary force on Egyptian soil—is no longer valid. Any further delay in clearing the Canal must mean that President Nasser is not as devoted to the principles guaranteeing a free and open waterway laid down in the 1888 Convention as he professes to be. In other words, he is willing to deny an essential artery of commerce to innocent nations in Western Europe and Asia which had no part in the Anglo-French invasion of

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Egypt. This policy, if he continues to follow it, will be pursued for his own political purposes.

Now that the British and French have withdrawn, the next few weeks may prove this to be much too harsh an interpretation of President Nasser's motives. We hope so. Nevertheless, there is no denying that a petulant and resentful Egyptian nationalism has set a pattern for the future. There is a real danger that the Nasser regime will continue to use the obstruction of the waterway to achieve a one-sided settlement of the Suez dispute just as it has used the Canal to accomplish the speedy withdrawal of Anglo-French troops.

This certainly is not what Washington has bargained for. The United States supported Egypt in the UN because it believed that force was no solution to the Suez

crisis. By the same token the United States should now be concerned today lest Britain, France and unoffending nations in Western Europe and Asia be subjected to the more subtle use of force implied in Egypt's disregard for her international obligations. Prompt in its condemnation of the appeal to arms, the United States should also be prompt in condemning exploitation of the situation brought on by the use of arms.

As for the UN, having blocked a settlement by force of the issues in the Middle East, the world organization must now prove it can reach a settlement through its own authority. It has forced Britain and France to comply with its cease-fire resolutions. The Anglo-French expeditionary force has withdrawn from Egypt. Now let the UN get the Canal functioning.

NAM Attack on Administration Spending

When the Eisenhower Administration took over in Washington four years ago, the National Association of Manufacturers could scarcely be described as an indifferent onlooker. The NAM was frankly jubilant. After twenty years of New and Fair Deals, of big spending and mounting taxes, there had finally come to power, it thought, an Administration that appreciated the value of a dollar. Too realistic to hope for miracles, the NAM nevertheless anticipated a steady drop in Federal spending and a gradual easing of the tax burden.

Now the NAM is disillusioned. Though it concedes that during its first two years in office the Eisenhower Administration performed very well, it has serious reservations about the last two years. In fact, it finds the President's spending record since 1955 "disappointing." In his budget message on January 17 of that year, the NAM recalls, the President was "firm and vigorous" in his pledges of efficiency and economy. He promised that his Administration would "exercise the utmost care in the manner in which it uses the taxpayers' money." But what happened, the NAM asks?

Federal spending for fiscal 1957 has increased \$4 billion over the original budget estimate for the year, which in turn was \$3 billion higher than for fiscal 1956. . . . In January of this year [1956], 1957 spending was pegged at \$65 million. But when the revenue picture was reviewed, the August budget judgment was for spending \$69 billion in 1957.

The NAM refuses to be mollified by the balanced budgets of fiscal 1956 and 1957, or to be put off with talk of the continuing need for large defense expenditures. Sure, the budget was balanced, it says, but it wasn't balanced because the Administration kept the Federal purse tightly zippered. The Treasury has black ink on its books because it gathered a windfall of revenues far bigger than had been anticipated. And as for the cold war, the increased spending in

Washington, the NAM tartly observes, has not taken place "in the military or in foreign aid, but in the domestic agencies and departments."

By a happy coincidence, just three weeks before the NAM released its critical statement on December 19, President Eisenhower's Budget Director, Percival Brundage, laid the foundations of the Administration's defense in a speech at Chicago. Addressing a joint meeting of the American Institute of Accountants and the Illinois Society of Certified Public Accountants, Mr. Brundage explained:

We are now an urban industrial society which demands broad social-security coverage. Unemployed workers can no longer go back to the farm. Society needs protection against the heavy expenses of protracted illness. It needs continually improved housing, more education, more roads, better air facilities, improved places for outdoor recreation. As many of these expanding requirements as possible should, of course, be filled by private enterprise, but the Federal share is substantial.

Not only is the Federal share substantial, said Mr. Brundage. It is more substantial than it need be. Business and the general public, he charged, "demand assistance in many fields besides the areas I have mentioned." Worse still, he continued, in the field of Federal spending consistency is no virtue. "I have been surprised," he lamented, "to see how very general the demand is for Federal assistance, even from those very people who condemn it in principle."

We do not know whom Mr. Brundage had in mind. Can it be that some of those who blow hot and cold on Federal spending are also dues-paying members of the NAM? Stranger things have happened. We should like to suggest, then, that any really effective campaign to reduce Federal spending must be courageously pursued on two levels: on the Federal level in Washington, and on the local level where the pressures for Federal spending so often originate.

Ideology and Political Economy

Russell Kirk

THE DEMON OF THE ABSOLUTE, in the modern age, is always just behind the door—even though, here in America, we rarely let him climb into the pulpit. We Americans are not so sorely plagued with notions of Absolute Liberty, or notions of Absolute Sovereignty, as are the nations that have embraced ideological politics. We still think of liberties as prescriptive, juridical, customary. As in our Revolutionary era, we appeal to precedent when we speak of any particular freedom; and many of us still are aware that freedom must be earned.

Genuine freedom of thought, like any other sort of freedom, cannot consist with ideology. "Ideology" does not mean "principle." Invented by Napoleon, the term "ideology" was adapted by Marx to his own peculiar purposes, and was employed to corrupt further the vocabulary of politics by Karl Mannheim in our century. Ideology means fanatic belief in the exclusive wisdom of a set of a priori secular doctrines; and commonly the ideologue boasts that his rigid system, if consistently adhered to, will create the Terrestrial Paradise. Now a disciplined freedom of thought being the condition without which no sort of freedom long endures in our Age of Discussion, I am saddened whenever I see principle giving way to ideology.

NO MONOPOLY OF INTELLIGENCE

And Giant Ideology—which is the form the Demon of the Absolute assumes in politics—has a way of thrusting himself unexpectedly among men who profess to hold the most liberal of opinions. I was somewhat surprised, for instance, while reading in the *Annals of the American Academy*, more than two years ago, a review by Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. of a book edited by Prof. Friedrich A. Hayek, *Capitalism and the Historians*. Mr. Schlesinger did not like this book. I was not surprised at that, being acquainted with Mr. Schlesinger's prejudices; what I found disheartening was his denunciation of this scholarly and interesting little volume as "anti-intellectual." He said, among other things, that this book was "an example of what Senator Fulbright calls 'that swinish blight, anti-intellectualism.'"

DR. KIRK, whose article, "Einstein Raised a Question," appeared in AMERICA (1/28/56), is the author of The Conservative Mind (Regnery).

Now *Capitalism and the Historians* was the work of several distinguished economists and historians; and though I, like Mr. Schlesinger, happened to disagree with this or that interpretation therein, I did not call these scholars "swinish" merely because they happened to entertain opinions not my own. There is a liberty of criticism, and there is a license of criticism.

My defense of Mr. Hayek's volume might be somewhat warmer, however, were it not that he has included in the new preface to the paper-back edition of his *Road to Serfdom* an observation curiously similar to Mr. Schlesinger's:

Conservatism, though a necessary element in any stable society, is not a social program; in its paternalistic, nationalistic and power-adoring tendencies it is often closer to socialism than true liberalism; and with its traditionalistic, anti-intellectual and often mystical propensities, it will never, except in short periods of disillusionment, appeal to the young—etc., etc.

Well! So Burke, Adams, Chateaubriand, Donoso, Newman, Salisbury and the other conservative thinkers were anti-intellectual. Mr. Hayek is anti-intellectual because he does not happen to be of one mind with Mr. Schlesinger; and conservatives are anti-intellectual because they happen to disagree, on some points, with Mr. Hayek.

Now I do not think that liberals, old-style or new-style, are necessarily enemies of the works of the mind. On the contrary, I think that both Mr. Schlesinger and Mr. Hayek are scholars of high intellectual attainment. But I cannot believe that liberals, new-style or old-style, have any just claim to an empire over intellectuality. And I think that presumptuous claims of this sort tend to confuse the whole discussion of the complex problem of freedom and responsibility in American society.

We really ought not to flatter the Demon of the Absolute; we really ought not to set up a throne for Giant Ideology. These are not times which can abide such servitude. We require all the right reason we can lay hold on; and if our discussion is enveloped in cant and slogan, the possibility of reconciling freedom and responsibility becomes still more difficult of attainment.

I cannot convince myself that there is any single, simple set of political and economic doctrines, uniformly and abstractly applied, which will suffice to

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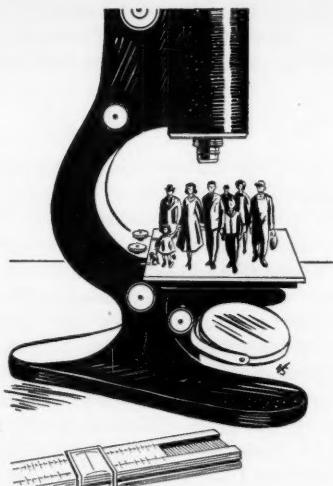
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make us all free and happy and responsible—or emancipated from responsibility. All we can hope to do is to apply to the understanding of our confused civil social order certain general principles concerning human nature and society. The real, simon-pure anti-intellectual is the man who shouts that his opponents must be imbeciles. This is the ideologue. I think we ought to admit prudence and toleration to our councils.

Mr. Schlesinger and Mr. Hayek, and a great many other people, sometimes seem to imply that political economy alone, divorced from ideas of justice, knowledge of history, religious principle, social prescription and the passions of men, somehow can provide the remedy for our present discontents. This is to convert economic theory into ideology. And I think that is a perilous undertaking.

Two vocabularies express and confine the opinions of many people nowadays who talk about political economy; and both of these vocabularies are obsolete. If nothing is deader than dead politics, surely nothing is sooner superannuated than yesterday's economic policy. One of these vocabularies is that of the Manchesterians, and the other is that of the Socialists. The doctrines of these two schools are the two sides of the coin of Utilitarianism. Both are founded upon the presumption that the real end of man, after all, is the production-consumption equation. So Utilitarianism, in either of its forms, is servile in essence.

The Manchesterians thought of freedom as the opportunity for a man to improve his material condition through private economic action. The Socialists thought of freedom as the opportunity for society to improve the material condition of the masses through collective action. We now live in an age, however—I speak of America and the industrialized Western world—in which the reality or the possibility of economic abundance is already at hand. And this abundance is produced, not by ideology, but by technology.

Barring social disaster, we no longer stand in danger of want in the Malthusian sense—not, at least, for some generations to come. The risk is greater that we may

become pigs in the sty of Epicurus. I think that we ought to talk less, therefore, about "efficiency" and "industrial progress" and "consumer education," and more about political economy as it is related to true freedom. For freedom and responsibility are not secure among us; and they will not be tolerably safe until we have returned from the waste of ideology to the walled city of tolerant principle.

I should like to see the old phrase "political economy" restored to its former dignity. It is preferable to "economics" because "political economy" implies that the politics of a state and the economy of a state are enduringly joined. There are economies under which no real freedom is possible: communistic economies are such. There are political conditions under which no sound economy is possible: anarchy is such.

Today a good many people naively assume that we can remain free no matter how tightly the state controls, or even if it actually operates, the economy. And others assume, with equal innocence, that political and personal freedom will endure, so long as we keep repeating the word "freedom," no matter how far the process of concentrating economic power in vast corporations nominally "private" is carried.

At this moment we are in a kind of transient equilibrium, in which the personal freedoms of the 19th century survive but little diminished, and in which the material advantages of utilitarian production continue to increase. Yet I believe that this equilibrium cannot long endure. As the consolidation of economic power progresses, the realm of personal freedom will diminish, whether the masters of the economy are state servants or the servants of private corporations.

I do not say that this process will continue inevitably; I say only that freedom will diminish if all men become the servants of an economic structure to which there is no alternative for anyone. It still is possible, here in America, to seek means for restoring variety to economic life, purpose to work and meaning to leisure. Nowadays we need to emphasize work for the sake of accomplishment and freedom, rather than work for the sake of quantitative production.

TASK FOR CONSERVATIVES

Just this, I suggest, is a task for conservatives, in the best and broadest sense of that abused term. Conservatives generally have not been enamored of economics, the "dismal science." Edmund Burke scoffed at the "sophisters, economists and calculators" who would supplant prescriptive wisdom by their neat plans for social alteration. The dominant school of economists, from Adam Smith onward, was liberal in its assumptions, with only here and there an exception like William Huskisson.

After the 1880's, it is true, there occurred in political and economic thought a certain fusion of liberal and conservative opinion, predicted and exemplified by Walter Bagehot. Yet conservatives remain today in a forlorn minority among scientific economists. The dominant schools are collectivistic, or old-fashioned Manchesterian, or new-style liberal after the manner of

John Maynard Keynes, Most of those economists popularly called conservative still prefer the appellation "liberal": Professor Hayek, of course, and Prof. David McCord Wright and Prof. Wilhelm Röpke.

Nor is this simply because conservatives, in John Stuart Mill's reproachful phrase, are the stupid party. It is rather that the thinking conservative has refused to believe that economic production, whether "capitalistic" or "socialistic," is the primary concern of the individual or the state. He has tended to steer clear of the "dismal science" because he does not share the Webbs' conviction that man is principally producer and consumer.

The conservative has been attached to traditional and rural life, resenting the excesses and injustices of the industrial system as much as did any of the radical Socialists. Yet, since that industrial system is now irrevocably established, the man of conservative impulses must teach himself to understand political economy. W. H. Mallock, sixty years ago, set himself to this task, uncongenial though it was to his character. Here in America we need such conservatives with imagination to consider the problems of our industrial age in the light of conservative principle: "conservative" as a term of principle, not simply as a term of relation.

The first duty for the conservative, in this field, is to declare what he believes and what he does not. In the popular mind, the conservative in the economic sphere is badly confounded with the Manchesterian. They have indeed something in common: an opposition to state capitalism or state socialism; but there are differences, too.

The American conservative, for instance, thinks that a great deal is wrong with our modern political economy—and also that no economy ever will be wholly satisfactory. The fault is not that our economy is inefficient; it may be, indeed, *too* efficient for life on a truly human scale. Rather, the economy is unsatisfactory in that, increasingly, it neglects the dignity of man. Manchesterian dogma and Marxist dogma treat man as a creature almost exclusively economic, and the whole unconscious tendency of the modern economic system is toward the realization of that view. (Prof. Ludwig von Mises does not seem to differ much in his postulates about the nature of man from the views of modern orthodox Marxists: both are children of Jeremy Bentham).

Nor is this narrowness confined to strict Manchesterians or strict Marxists. The most illuminating teaching in opposition to either school is contained in the social encyclicals of the Popes; yet I have known professors of economics at Catholic colleges to remark, with some scorn: "The encyclicals! Really, we can't teach them in a course in scientific economics." In endeavoring to atone for the



atomic individualism of the last century, modern reformers are in grave danger of plunging into a materialism quite as gross, and still more hostile to true freedom.

"NOT BY BREAD ALONE"

Lord Keynes, in his mature years, wrote that he had found Benthamism, with its exaggeration of the economic motive, to be the worm which is gnawing at the root of modern civilization. Just so, I think. And the first endeavor of the intelligent economic reformer in this country ought to be to emancipate us from the doctrinaire Benthamism that is in the mouths of the zealots both for "capitalism" and for "socialism."

Economic production is not an end in itself, though nearly everyone talks as if it were. The real end of economic production is to raise man above the savage level, to make possible the leisure which sustains civilization and to free man from the condition of being a simple drudge. When efficiency of production becomes an end in itself, then truly technology has triumphed over humanity. The Soviet experiment is only the *reductio ad absurdum* of a preoccupation with creature comforts that sweeps away, very soon, certain things in human existence far more precious than creature-comforts. This system—through the abolition of incentives and the deadening influence of fanatic ideology—may make scarce even those creature comforts it professes to provide.

We suffer from the same disease as do the Communists, though in a milder form. Whenever we go about looking for a solution to some great social problem, we rarely recur to the first principle of human nature and society. Instead, we turn back to Benthamite dogmas. "Efficiency," "progress" and "economic security" are our god-terms, as they are those of the Soviets.

When we take up our farm problems, for instance, we phrase it in terms which imply that the farmer is simply a servant of Mammon; that his function is simply to feed the cities. If the farmer is found "inefficient," or in any respect less prosperous than his city cousins, then, in our present-day view, either he ought to be shipped off to the city and fitted into the process of automation, or else subsidized as if he were a disagreeable mendicant whose vote, regrettably, does count.

Almost no one asks just what is going to happen to a country in which the rural population, already scarcely a seventh of the total, sinks toward extinction; or whether the rural life is not worth conserving at some cost to total efficiency; or whether the farmer really ought to be expected to live a life, in creature comforts and aims, precisely like that of his city cousin. If we think of aiding the farmer at all, it is merely with a view toward converting him into an agricultural capitalist. I suggest that we are suffering from a decline of social imagination, extending to—and sometimes caused by—economic theory.

For the conservation of freedom of any sort, the economy must in considerable measure be free. Much of the popular discussion of economic questions is obsolete, because it is founded, especially in America,

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upon the assumption that 19th-century economic doctrines are the final formulation of economic thought; and upon the assumption that we still are living in a 19th-century condition marked by the pressure of population upon food-supply.

But many of the problems of the 20th century differ from those of the 19th century, and in some respects are more difficult to tackle. Our conservative task is to reconcile personal freedom with the claims of modern technology, and to try to humanize an age in which things are in the saddle. We cannot return generally to the economic practices of an age in which the processes of production were fairly simple and most economic undertakings were small private proprietorships. At least, we cannot return to such a condition without changes of a nature transcending political economy.

But we need not march on, as if propelled by an ineluctable destiny, toward a complete collectivization of economic life, the exploded ideal of the 19th-century Socialists. We no longer can afford to bow before ideology, no matter how painful real thinking may be. In our present equilibrium, here in America, we may seem to have given a large measure of economic prosperity to the mass of men, at small cost in freedom. But I am thinking of what this country, and all the world, may be fifty years from now.

I am saying this: the first step toward curing a malady is to diagnose the disease correctly. I suggest that we must find our happiness in work, or not at all; and that mere slavery to work, however economically profitable, is irreconcilable with social freedom. How to restore true meaning to economic endeavor is a problem that must be resolved. No existing set of rigid social dogmas will give us the answers promptly.

We are not defending freedom, therefore, or developing responsibility, when we pretend that intellectual attainment is a monopoly of the coterie to which we may happen to belong. No servitude is more thorough than the service of ideology, because it enforces a conformity of one's innermost opinions to narrow political abstractions. The success of the American civil social order, and the preservation of our old liberties, have been achieved through our aversion to divorcing theory from prudence. No other society ever had such problems as ours, in the economic realm; but no society before our age ever had such a wealth of learning available, and such an economic margin, to aid in the solving of problems. The analysis of the real meaning of freedom, and the examination of the nature of responsibility, are available to us at the cost of a little of our idle time. The ideologue is unwilling to spare that time.

The Coming Crisis in Psychiatry

Walker Percy

A NEW THEME is being heard in American psychiatry. At the present time it is taken to be little more than another variation on the Freudian motif—as such, in fact, is it advertised by Erich Fromm (*The Sane Society*, Rinehart, New York, 1955), who has given it the name “humanistic psychoanalysis.” The possibility I should like, however, to explore is whether this new insight, if it is valid, does not require a radical recasting of the concept of man for the social sciences. What makes the matter worthy of attention is the fact that the issue has been raised, not by the old enemies of Sigmund Freud and his teachings, but within the profession. Someone has remarked that, great as has been the impact of Freud on psychiatry, it has been even greater in the fringe areas of the social sciences, in popular science and in the arts. If you are looking for pure Freudian doctrine, you are more likely to hear it nowadays from the social worker in Des Moines or the sophomore psychology student than from the analyst, who is more apt to be eclectic. As in the history of so many seminal ideas, at the very moment it is conquering in the provinces, it is being called in question at its source and center.

The issue is simply this: is psychiatry a biological science in which man is treated as an organism with instinctive drives and needs not utterly or qualitatively different from those of other organisms? Or is psy-

DR. PERCY, who specifies that he is not a psychiatrist, has an M.D. degree from Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons. His articles have appeared in *Thought* and *The Modern Schoolman*. Part II of this article will follow in our next issue.

chiatry a humanistic discipline which must take account of man as possessing a unique destiny by which he is oriented in a wholly different direction?

It is hardly necessary to add that the issue has arisen among psychiatrists—as indeed it is proper that it should arise—not because of any idea of making concessions to religious points of view, but from the necessity of accounting for the human “data.”

There is, moreover, a note of urgency about the crisis which would not obtain, say, in a science like

geology. The sciences of man do not operate in a vacuum.

The question, then, is no longer whether the social sciences, given sufficient time (as they like to say), may succeed in applying the biological method to man, but whether the very attempt to do so has not in fact worsened man's predicament in the world. The pursuit of physics does not change the physical world; it is all the same to most sub-atomic particles whether there is or is not a science of physics. But if Western man's sense of homelessness and loss of community is in part due to the fact that he feels himself a stranger to the method and data of his sciences, and especially to himself construed as a datum, then the issue is no longer academic.

THE CONCEPT OF ALIENATION

It is increasingly noticeable that American psychiatry has almost nothing to say about the great themes that have engaged the existential critics of modern society from Søren Kierkegaard to Gabriel Marcel. The very men whose business is mental health have been silent about the sickness of modern man, his emotional impoverishment, his sense of homelessness in the midst of the very world which he, more than the men of any other time, has made over for his own happiness. Would anyone seriously contend that these themes are peculiar to postwar Europe and have no bearing on American life?

The suspicion is beginning to arise that American psychiatry with its predominantly functional orientation—its root-concepts of drives and counter-drives, field forces, cultural criteria—is silent because, given its basic concept of man, it is *unable* to take account of the predicament of modern man. Fromm speaks of a "pathology of normalcy," maintaining that a man who meets every biological and cultural norm may nevertheless be desperately alienated from himself. This kind of suggestion cannot fail to be offensive to most American social scientists, for the simple reason that, however much they may wish to, they have no criterion for evaluating illness except as a deviation from a biological norm.

Fromm's diagnosis is startling indeed. Though he attempts to associate his views with psychoanalytic theory and to smooth over the differences, it becomes clear that what he proposes is not merely a variation of, but is in many ways the exact reverse of, what would be forthcoming under the method of analysis. Who is mentally healthy? What about the man or woman who lives, say, in the Park Forest development near Chicago, who has a good sexual relation with his or her partner, who feels secure, who is socially adjusted, who has many acquaintances, who consumes all manner of goods and

services, participates in "cultural activities," enjoys "recreational facilities," who is never lonely? Here is how one of them talks, according to Fromm:

I never feel lonely, even when Jim's away. You know friends are nearby, because at night you hear the neighbors through the walls.

Marriages which might break up otherwise are saved, depressed moods are kept from becoming worse, by talking, talking, talking. "It's wonderful," says one young wife,

You find yourself discussing all your problems with your neighbors—things that back in South Dakota we would have kept to ourselves (p.157).

Who is mentally healthy? Surely these happy suburbanites, who have few symptoms, who succeed most of the time in escaping boredom and guilt and anxiety. No, says Fromm. These people are desperately alienated from themselves. They are in fact without selves. They experience themselves as things, as commodities, or as nothing. They are—though Fromm does not use these words—in the position of the man in the gospel who would gain the whole world and lose his soul.

What about the symptoms of guilt and anxiety when they do appear? In the traditional analytic view, of course, guilt and anxiety are just that—symptoms. That is to say, they are evidences of "dis-ease," the resultant of a tensional imbalance in the unconscious. In Freud's words, they are the outcome of an "interplay of forces," instinctive forces versus repressive forces.

METAPHYSICAL ANXIETY

It was perfectly natural that in the 19th and early 20th centuries the biological method of medical science should have been taken over by the psychiatrist, and that a mental symptom should have been looked upon as evidence of a process which the patient knew nothing about and which the scientist has made it his business to learn something about. Certain chest pains are a symptom of a cardiac disorder which the sufferer has no way of identifying unless he has studied the subject. In a similar way, guilt and anxiety were regarded as overt signs of covert psychic disorder, signs whose meanings could be fathomed only by the use of special techniques, such as psychoanalysis.

Not necessarily so, says Fromm. Though he does not rule out the unconscious origin of neuroses, he makes it clear that the guilt and anxiety of the alienated man of the Western world are wholly *appropriate* reactions: a sense of guilt for the man who feels his life running through his hands like sand; of anxiety for the man who confronts himself and discovers—nothing. This is the age of anxiety because it is the age of the loss of self.

Let us oversimplify for a moment and put the question as concretely as possible. What shall we make of two individuals, suburbanite A, who is tranquilized in his never-ending consumption of goods, services, entertainment and human intercourse; suburbanite B, who feels himself an alien in Park Forest, who knows not who he is and is afraid? We have no choice under the

biological "pathology" of man, who is never lonely? Here is how one of them talks, according to Fromm:

I never feel lonely, even when Jim's away. You know friends are nearby, because at night you hear the neighbors through the walls.

Marriages which might break up otherwise are saved, depressed moods are kept from becoming worse, by talking, talking, talking. "It's wonderful," says one young wife,

You find yourself discussing all your problems with your neighbors—things that back in South Dakota we would have kept to ourselves (p.157).

Who is mentally healthy? Surely these happy suburbanites, who have few symptoms, who succeed most of the time in escaping boredom and guilt and anxiety. No, says Fromm. These people are desperately alienated from themselves. They are in fact without selves. They experience themselves as things, as commodities, or as nothing. They are—though Fromm does not use these words—in the position of the man in the gospel who would gain the whole world and lose his soul.

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biological method but to consider A "normal" and B "pathological." To suggest that both are lost to themselves, and that the difference is that B knows it and A does not, is to imply a criterion of human existence which is quite foreign to the adaptive criteria of biology.

The Freudian analyst, confronted with the symptoms of estrangement, anxiety, guilt, has no choice but to proceed by formula: now let's see if we can find out what has gone wrong and get rid of it. A man walks into a psychiatrist's office suffering from acute "free-floating" anxiety. It turns out that his life is otherwise unremarkable, that he has satisfied every biological and cultural "need," that he has nothing to fear. Any high-school student, in such a case, can tell you that his anxiety is a symptom of a disorder of the unconscious originating in infancy. Certainly, the student will aver, his anxiety has no basis in his present life.

The suggestion now comes (from Fromm, and especially from the existentialists) that it may have everything to do with his present life. In the case of the anonymous consumer who is lost to himself, lost to the possibility of existing as an individual human being in a true community of other human beings, the anxiety may be quite the reverse of a symptom. It may be the call of the self to the self, in Kierkegaard's words: the discovery of the possibility of freedom to become a self.

This is strange talk from an analyst. (It is perhaps stranger still that Fromm should try to link up his diagnosis with Marxian economic theory and make no mention of the existentialists.) What is being called in question is nothing less than the fundamental concepts of psychiatry. Responsible social scientists are suggesting for the first time that human existence must be evaluated by standards quite different from those which the analyst abstracts from his "data." The existential criteria apply to analyst and data alike. Fromm suggests, for example, that the brilliant American psychiatrist Harry Stack Sullivan was himself alienated, because he looked upon the lack of self in American life as a normal state of affairs.

"DOUBLE STANDARD" OF PSYCHIATRISTS

Why does the biological method fail to comprehend man? Perhaps it is because the scientist will invariably allow a double standard, one for his data, one for himself. Freud, for instance, tried to derive all human activity from various expressions of libidinal energy; but what account can Freud give of his own lifelong quest for the truth? How an "interaction of forces" can be sublimated into a search for truth is never explained.

Carl Gustav Jung quite frankly declares that as a scientist he has no interest in the truth-value of his patients' beliefs; his only concern is the discovery of the workings of the psyche, the requirements for mental well-being, whatever they may be. Thus Jung approves of the Catholic dogma of the Assumption, not because it is true, but because it happens to validate the "anima archetype." Yet Jung himself is, one presumes, searching for the truth. What account can he give, in terms of his theory, of his own lifelong project? It would be

easy to list others like Freud and Jung, but common to all is the posture of the spectator questioning his data in search of the *real*, the *hidden* motivations behind the various illusory goals by which man deceives himself.

Fromm implies that scientists, too, share our common humanity and can fall victim to the "pathology of normalcy" as easily as the next man.

The next question is inevitable. If Fromm's "normative humanism" does not derive its norms from biological categories, then where do they come from? Is there a goal of human living beyond that of adjustment to society and consumption of its goods? If there is such a goal, does this mean that psychiatry is dependent upon religion for its orientation? What justification, from a purely psychiatric point of view, can be offered for an abandonment of the biological method? These questions we shall examine in part two of this article.

On the Road to Bethlehem

I met a traveler upon an ancient road
That runs from out the greening hills
To where the burning sands
Set bounds upon a lifeless sea.

I saw him on the high road
That runs by Sichem well,
And by the white-walled house of God,
And on through Judea's hills—

Worn by the weight of his journey,
He stopped for a moment's rest
Beside the dusty pathway
Where weary feet still tread.

His young wife rode on a donkey
Wrapped in a mantle blue,
As blue as cloud-flecked skies that shroud
The peace and still of Galilee.

He helped her from the broad beast's back of bone
As though he plucked some fair and fragile flower
From a rough thorn-studded stem.

And she, with child, sat smiling
By the road to Bethlehem.

And so they traveled on again,
On the long road to Judea's hills;
The dumb beast bore his slender freight,
And his hoofbeats beat the ancient dust
To the monotonous gait of time and fate
And the tempo of eternity.

W. W. MEISSNER

Fiction - Fact = 0

John A. Oesterle

CAN WE VALIDLY CONDEMN an artist for his neglect or even mutilation of historical facts connected with the subject of his work?

This is the question William J. Sullivan raised in his article "Don't Ask Me for History" (AM. 12/15, p. 328-9). The wording of the question (e.g., "condemn") suggests that Mr. Sullivan is disposed to answer "no." And there is decidedly a sense in which the answer should be "no." I am one with him in making a clear distinction between the historical and artistic orders. The artist is not primarily concerned with setting forth historical facts, even if he is dealing with a historical character and a historical situation. To suppose the contrary is to confuse the dramatist and the historian. A dramatist who writes like a historian is a bad artist, just as the historian who writes like a dramatist is a bad historian. We have had examples of both, unfortunately.

Yet granting the distinction between art and history, to say categorically that no criticism based on historical truth can be validly raised against a work of art is an oversimplification, the consequence of an insufficient grasp of the nature of an artistic work. Following Mr. Sullivan's order, I should like to consider, however briefly, what a work of art is, for upon this point rests the answer to the question whether there is any relation between poetic art and historical truth.

Let us first face the fact that the artist is *not* a creator except in a very secondary sense. No point in a theory of art has led writers on art (as distinct from the artists themselves) more astray than to suppose that the artist is creative in the genuine sense of the term, i.e., that the artist produces something wholly new and quite independent of the real order. The artist, unlike God, does not create something from nothing but something from something, and the difference is infinite. The human artist represents; he is a maker of images, not a creator of things. I should be inclined to regard this matter as only a semantic problem were it not invariably a fact that when a writer begins treating the artist as a creator, he soon begins to talk about the artist's producing a world with its own characters, its own events and its own history, quite unrelated to the real order. Before such a creation, the beholder can only bow down and, in effect, worship. It is along just such lines Mr. Sullivan proceeds in speaking of the artist's work.

On the contrary, it is the very nature of a work of art to be representative and, indeed, its delightful intelligibility arises from the ingenious manner in which the artist represents the real order in his work. First of all, the human artist, like any other human knower, must take his knowledge and impressions from reality. The proper skill and power of the artist arises from his imaginative re-presentation of reality and, in this respect, I am quite willing to apply a derived meaning of "creator" to an artist who can, in so marvelous a way, fashion the poetic images which delight us.

Artistic representation is therefore far removed from being a mere copy of the real order—an artistic monstrosity even if it were possible; at the same time, if the

The discussion envisioned and hoped for when WILLIAM J. SULLIVAN published his article, "Don't Ask Me for History," in AMERICA (12/15/56, p. 328), is carried on by PROF. OESTERLE, of the Department of Philosophy, University of Notre Dame.

work of art were not in some way representative of the real order, it would not interest us and attract us. And if this extreme were possible, it would be an opposite denial of art. What *does* delight us about a work of art is the intelligible insight it provides us in understanding what the real order might be and, in fact, is not. This is the distinction between the artistic and the real order; the artist judges and interprets the real order for us, and by that fact a work of art—"abstract" or "realistic"—cannot escape reference to the real order.

The drama is a case in point. It re-presents in an artistic order a series of human events which never actually took place, but which *could* take place. The "could take place" signifies the distinction of art from the real order as well as the inescapable reference of a work of art to the real order. How else, other than by referring to the real order, can we range plays from the most imaginative to the most realistic? *Peter Pan* is the delightful imaginative tale that it is, not because it has



no relation to the real order.

no relation to the real order, but because of its remoteness from the real order.

Historical truth, first of all, is certainly concerned with the real order. I take "historical truth" in its most obvious sense as referring to the truth about singular events which did take place. Now in a dramatic development, historical facts are not of direct concern to the artist or to the critic. It is dramatically irrelevant on what side St. Joan wore her sword, or even whether she was at such a place at such a time.

WHY USE HISTORICAL CHARACTERS?

An important qualification, however, must be made at once. *Some* historical truth must be known and accepted so that the artist may know enough about the real person to treat the character dramatically. Why, after all, does a dramatist use a historical character? He does so, among other reasons, because a real person is known in advance as being of a certain type, having certain distinctive traits of interest to the dramatist and the audience. A play is thereby simplified and intensified. But this artistic advantage of drawing upon a real character carries the obligation to treat the historical person as the kind of person he really is.

This consideration leads us to recognize that truth is not to be identified with historical truth (in its more obvious sense), just as the real order is not to be identified with singular events. That John Jones shoots a man at this time and place is certainly real and, let us suppose, true. That John Jones is a human being and that he is a certain type of human being with distinctive traits is also real; and this aspect of reality matters as much for the artist as for the psychologist and the criminal investigator. The real order thus embraces types of things and actions as well as singular things and action.

To come, finally, to the historical drama and the sort of criticism appropriate to it, it is clear that the drama need not be historically truthful in the obvious sense of the term, bearing in mind the important qualification that without some historical truth the character would not be known at all. But the historical drama must be truthful about the kind of character the person is, just as any work of art should be faithful in presenting fundamental truths about human action and passion.

Let me refer, by way of confirmation, to Bernard Shaw. No one can read his preface to *St. Joan* without realizing how seriously he took his task of presenting dramatically the historical character he judged St. Joan to be. The amount of knowledge he had acquired about the historical St. Joan was certainly in his mind essential to writing a dramatically good play about her.

On the other hand, I think a combined historical-artistic judgment can show that Shaw misrepresents St. Joan in seeking to make her, as he is at pains to make explicit, a Protestant martyr. He does so by posing in St. Joan a false opposition between the individual conscience and the authority of the Church. This is simply not the sort of character St. Joan was and is, and against this dramatic representation both an artistic and a historical (in the broader sense) criticism is relevant.

Shaw is, of course, entitled to his opinion on the

problem of the individual conscience and the authority of the Church. He is neither artistically nor historically entitled to make over St. Joan in his own image. To make the point he wished, he should have used a non-historical character in a non-historical drama. But whether this judgment is right or whether Shaw is right, the point is clear that a certain *type* of historical judgment is relevant in a historical drama.

There is, therefore, a relevant criticism at once historical and artistic about a historical drama. I should like to reiterate, however, that it is not a criticism based on the more obvious sense of "historical truth." Scrupulous observance of historical facts in a drama is not only not necessary but artistically undesirable. Nevertheless, some historical truth is necessary in order to know what sort of character the person is; and a dramatist who does not inform himself to this extent has no business writing a historical drama. Just as any artist is measured by an objective truth of things, even though he has great latitude in representing this objective order in imaginary ways, so in a particular manner the historical dramatist is measured in addition by the truth about the historical character he is treating. To suppose the contrary is to suppose the human artist is a creator in an unqualified sense of the term. And yet even God creates with Himself as model.

All the Rivers of Eden

Midnight, Christmas morning,
My spirit sang and I
Heard a Child's first laughter
That was at once a cry:

*All the rivers of Eden
Meet today in me,
Joining in my coming
As branches to the tree.*

*The candelabra rivers
Bring kings from a strange land,
A star above the branches
Leading them by the hand.*

*And I, the tree, new planted,
Already begin to grow,
My body mounting upward
From the dark soil below.*

*I touch the sky and rooting
The rivers meet in me,
Shepherds, kings, and children
One beneath the tree.*

Midnight, Christmas morning,
My spirit sang, for He,
The Child Himself, was singing
As I sat beneath His tree.

JAMES F. COTTER

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BOOKS

How Big Is the Soviet War-Machine?

THE RED ARMY

By B. H. Liddell Hart. Harcourt, Brace.
460p. \$6

Some thirty contributors under the editorship of a distinguished British military thinker have here made a book whose purpose is

to provide a reliable account and comprehensive picture of the Soviet Army in all its aspects—by drawing on and piecing together the knowledge of a wide range of experts in various countries who have made a special study, or have had direct experience, of particular aspects and organs of this Army.

Like all collections, this one has its rough edges and duplications. In the main, however, it is a remarkable work which should be in the hands of all who are concerned with our defense.

Many of the authorities gathered together by Liddell Hart were military leaders whose names are prominently recorded in the history of World War II. Others held modest rank. Nearly all had first-hand acquaintance with the Russians.

The most sobering chapters are those written by top-flight German generals—Blumentritt, Guderian, Student, Bayerlein and Manstein—whose conclusions stem from the bitterness of defeat. Curiously, the tenor of their views is reinforced in the chapters by veteran French generals such as Weygand, Guillaume and Biessel. Both German and French experts are tremendously impressed by the enormous masses of men and artillery we commonly think of as characteristic of the Russians. More significantly, however, they are struck by dogged Russian resourcefulness and exploitation of the virtues of simplicity in tactics, logistics, weapons design and indoctrination.

There are many surprises in this book and few of them are comfortable. A crystal-clear picture emerges of a competent, tough enemy, whose many paradoxes make both underestimation and overestimation far too easy. For the layman, who deals in generalizations, perhaps the most disturbing surprise will be the news that the Russian military leaders are fully cognizant of the drawbacks of mere quantity.

The Russians have been remorselessly

striving to attain quality, where quality counts, both in weapons and men. Atomic war offers plain hazards to time-tested reliance upon mass, and there is more than a strong hint that the Russians, who specialized in developing successful defense in depth, are dabbling in tactical concepts that might lead to the converse, something conveniently dubbed offense in depth.

Further—though this may merely be hobby-riding by Liddell Hart, who is famous for defining what he calls “the strategy of the indirect approach”—a successful Russian strategy for World War III is spelled out. Instead of colliding head-on with Nato forces in Europe, this book suggests, the Russians may move by a “nibbling” process into Norway and Iran, suddenly outflanking our position in the European peninsula. Our Nato partners might be offered a choice of accommodation with Russian wishes and no nuclear war, or loyalty to their U. S. commitments and the certainty of being devastated.

All is not gloom, it should be pointed out hastily. The latent mutiny in the common soldier, the lack of initiative in the officer, the pervasive corrosion of mistrust in all ranks—these points are well and strongly made; they are seemingly confirmed by recent events in Hungary. The terror from which none are exempt produces surface conformity, but the party leaders can never be sure of what lies beneath. The ruthless extirpation of all partisans who fought behind the German lines, even when the war was safely won, has surely become known to the Russian people.

It is here that the Korean War assumes great significance as a Russian defeat, for we there established the principle that Communist troops could surrender to the West and have a choice about returning behind the Iron Curtain. The partisan movement against the Germans began only after the Germans shortsightedly began to ship Russians to their crematoria.

Those who have had relations with Russians know how incredible are the effects of complete control of newspapers, radio, magazines and other means of communication. The laughable “germ war” claims of the Communists, and the “confessions” they brutally extorted from some of our unfortunate

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Next Week . . .

The featured review in AMERICA's Educational Issue next week will be *The Imperial Intellect: A Study of Newman's Educational Ideal*, by A. Dwight Culler of the English Department of the University of Illinois. This important book will be reviewed by William W. Brickman, Chairman of the Department of the History of Education in New York University's School of Education and Editor of *School and Society*. Other books on educational topics will also be reviewed.

troops, were all part of a necessary and continuing program to convince the average Russian that Americans are brutal beasts. We can take heart, then, from reliable reports in Liddell Hart's book that Russian troops are notoriously bored by their required periods of political indoctrination. Perhaps that indefinable system of communications in human affairs known among youngsters as the "grapevine" will triumph over government control of formal communications. Perhaps our case is really understood by the Russian people.

In any event, the men in the Kremlin cannot forget that the 1917 Revolution was successful because significant numbers of troops deserted the Czarist Government. With respect to the Red Army, the men in the Kremlin might be said to have a bear by the tail. The anatomy of this perplexing bear is well explained by Liddell Hart and his confrères.

R. W. DALY

THE WORD

And thereupon certain wise men came out of the east to Jerusalem, who asked, Where is He that has been born, the king of the Jews? We have seen His star out in the east, and we have come to worship Him. (Matt. 2:1-2; Gospel for the Feast of the Epiphany).

There is no hint, in the other three Gospels, of St. Matthew's amazing narrative of the Magi. Here, surely, is an event which belongs in the second chapter of St. Luke; but on the exciting subject of the distinguished pilgrims from the East, the historian of our Saviour's infancy, who tells us all about

the lowly shepherds from the neighboring hillside, stands completely silent. If the four Gospels had been the fruit of cold and crooked collusion, the shrewd conspirators would have done a much tidier job of myth-making.

Popular Christian comprehension has been lovingly busy with St. Matthew's brisk history. We hear that the Magi were three in number, that they were royal ones, kings, and we even learn their names. Of all such detail, however, the Evangelist himself is innocent and evidently unaware. Matthew says simply, *Certain wise men came out of the East to Jerusalem*. What matters, of course, is why they came; and on the true point of the story Matthew is luminous: *Where is He that has been born, the king of the Jews? We have seen His star out in the East, and we have come to worship Him.*

Freed from all embellishment, the history of the Magi has a profound and practical meaning.

The first announcement of the birth of the world's Saviour was made by a bright angel to a group of shepherds. These men were Jews. As Christ will

later insist in His teaching, particularly in His parables, and as He will indicate in His own behavior, the people of Israel, by divine choice God's own people and by actual blood Christ's own people, were to receive the initial and, as it were, the preferential invitation to citizenship in that kingdom of God which is the Church on earth.

Yet even as the Jewish shepherds were summoned to the crib of Christ by an angel, so also, and very soon after, the Gentile Wise Men were gently called to the same crib of the same Christ by a star, by their own devout intelligence and by the loving, powerful grace of God.

The Greek word *epiphanias* means *manifestation*. The feast of the Epiphany celebrates the revelation of Christ the Redeemer to the entire non-Jewish world. Theologically, and thus liturgically, the festival of the Epiphany outranks that of the Nativity. Indeed, the Epiphany is the strictly Christian Christmas.

The showing forth of our Lord to us Gentiles may well stir our minds and hearts in a double way. We must be

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D Dentistry
E Education

E Engineering
FS Foreign Service
G Graduate School
IR Industrial Relations
J Journalism
L Law

M Medicine
N Nursing
P Pharmacy
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Se Science
Sy Seismology Station

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deeply grateful, of course, for our Christian vocation. But now, says St. Paul with a kind of wonder, *now you are in Christ Jesus; now through the blood of Christ, you have been brought close, you who were once so far away* (Eph. 2:13). In addition, surely we must with love and tolerance and compassion concern ourselves about those older brothers of ours to whom Christ came first and who, in John's sad words, *gave Him no welcome*.

VINCENT P. McCORRY, S.J.

THEATRE

SHOESTRING '57, presented at the Barbizon Plaza Theatre by Ben Bagley in association with Edwin H. Morris, is an unpretentious revue rumored to have been produced on a penurious budget. There is considerable visual evidence that the rumor is not wholly true. While William Riva's settings are not lavish they are imaginative and tasteful, and Jeanne Partington's costumes look as fresh as recently cut chrysanthemums.

The rumor is rendered incredible by the performance of a dozen talented and vivacious young people in twenty-odd sketches written by half as many writers with a quick eye for the follies of the contemporary scene. Their sketches, always humorous, range from the ludicrous to the macabre, with the emphasis consistently on the comic side.

Your reviewer, who has often waited what seemed like hours for his number 3 Fifth Avenue bus, while clusters of numbers 2, 5, 4 and 15 ganged up at the corner, laughed loudest at the skit called "Lament on Fifth Avenue." "The Arts" is another delicious skit, and "Two Way Play," with its travesty of *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, is another. There's hardly any point to mentioning the hilarity of all the sketches that rattled your observer's stiffening diaphragm, as it would require copying out the entire playbill. Suffice it to say that, directed by Paul Lammers, *Shoestring* is the smartest, gayest and merriest revue that has come our way in years.

LIL ABNER. While your reviewer has little in common with the intellectual snobs who consider comic strips a low-brow recreation, he restricts his diet of comics, simply because he cannot afford to buy all the papers in which the strips appear. Hence he is so vaguely acquainted with Al Capp's widely syn-

dicated is practical. If Ab villagers ing in t they are St. James lot of la weary we

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ORRY, S.J.

dicated strip that the title character is practically a total stranger.

If Abner, however, and his fellow villagers of Dogpatch are half as diverting in their newspaper sequences as they are in the musical comedy at the St. James, your observer has missed a lot of laughs during his sojourn in this weary world.

The vital elements of the show produced by Norman Panama, Melvin Frank and Michael Kidd are Al Capp's characters, Mr. Kidd's choreography and Gene de Paul's brassy music. And Johnny Mercer's lyrics help a lot.

The characters are hilarious, aside from the dialog and situations. When they talk they exhibit a fantastic way of thinking, especially when they are helped by Mr. Mercer with such songs as "Jubilation T. Jones" and "The Country's in the Very Best of Hands." There is, I regret to say, a salacious touch here and there—only wide-aware members of the audience will, however, notice it; and Daisy Mae's revealing costume unfortunately imitates the comic strip quite faithfully. For those who watch for it, a continuous vein of satire runs through the show.

Acting honors will not be mentioned because there are too many.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

ZARAK (*Columbia*) has what a good many people might uncharitably regard as a happy ending: Victor Mature is flogged to death. Before this admittedly unusual finale the film combines the cliché of the Oriental dancing-girl (Anita Ekberg in this case) with the Khyber Pass variation of the Western theme, so that the result is as nasty as it is preposterous. [L of D: B]

THE WRONG MAN (*Warner*). The story of an innocent man caught in a web of circumstantial evidence has always been a screen staple, and frequently enough it has been directed by Alfred Hitchcock. It is a rare thing, however, for that eminent director (and recently celebrated TV performer) to tackle material as stark and unglamorous as that in *The Wrong Man*.

The movie is based on the case of Manny Balestrero (Henry Fonda), bass fiddler in the Stork Club orchestra, who was arrested for armed robbery. The accusation arose when three women employees in an insurance office, to which Manny went on a legitimate

errand, identified him as the holdup man who had robbed them twice in recent months.

With three identifications, the police picked the musician up, whereupon another damning coincidence occurred. Manny's printing proved to be quite similar to that on a note presented by the bandit during the holdup, even to the same mistake in spelling. There was enough evidence to arrest him and charge him with the crime, and the grand jury later indicted him.

Finally, while the musician was awaiting his second trial (the first ended in a mistrial), the actual criminal was caught committing a similar crime, and theoretically the innocent victim's troubles were over. In the meantime, however, the strain had taken its toll not only on him but also on his wife (Vera Miles), who was sufficiently unsettled by the buffets of outrageous fortune to require treatment in a mental institution.

The film was made in and around New York City in its actual locales and apparently adheres scrupulously to the facts of the case. Sometimes indeed, despite the horror and poignancy of the situation, the accuracy appears to get in the way of dramatic considerations. But for arousing pity and terror the sequences in which a decent, innocent man is subjected to criminal procedure—arrest, handcuffing, the line-up, City Jail, Felony Court, etc.—have seldom been matched on the screen.

[L of D: A-I]

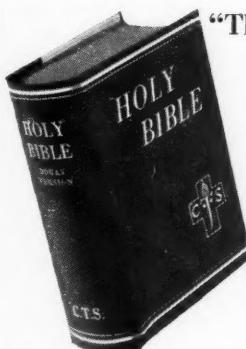
THE RAINMAKER (*Paramount*) features a virtuoso performance by Katharine Hepburn as the spinsterish daughter of a rancher whose father (Cameron Prud'homme) and brothers (Lloyd Bridges and Earl Holliman) are unaccountably trying to marry her off. Their main candidate is the taciturn deputy sheriff (Wendell Corey), who has an unhappy marriage behind him and is most uncooperative toward any new overtures. But other possible suitors, too, they welcome with open arms. In fact, at one point the father's view seems to be that an illicit affair would be better than nothing for his daughter.

The problem is solved, though not in the expected way, by the arrival of a silver-tongued traveling peddler and confidence man (Burt Lancaster), currently offering himself to the drought-stricken territory as a rainmaker. In the interim before he produces, to his own amazement, a cloudburst, this warm-hearted rascal talks the daughter into thinking she is beautiful. After that, even the deputy notices it.

The film, adapted by N. Richard Nash from his Broadway play, might be called poetic comedy. It has an eloquence that is larger than life and furnishes a pleasant change from the inarticulateness of tape-recorder dramatists. On the other hand, its verbal flourishes, further decorated by color and VistaVision, seem a substitute for, rather than a supplement to, an intelligent viewpoint. [L of D: B]

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Correspondence (Continued):

Communist entity into its constituent parts. But the emergency conditions which bred a policy of emotional declamation at the outset have disappeared. If they seek re-limited war in the present generation, Catholics must work for a re-limitation of the evils of the enemy.

Understanding the USSR

They should seek a more realistic assessment of the nationalistic aims of the Russians; of the distinction between Russian, Chinese and satellite communism and the nationalism of each; and of the specific and realistic dangers of each.

The average American must be made to realize that the motives which drive his enemies are human, not diabolical; that they are limited, not absolute; and that, however fundamental the basic differences between the Russian state and the Catholic faith, it does not serve the interests of the nation or the faith to gird for Armageddon. In this cause the Catholic journalist, who was so instrumental in the original alert against communism, stands in a unique way to be likewise instrumental in the development of a rational climate for its assessment.

There are other ways in which the climate of totality may be reduced; it remains for all of us who agree basically with Mr. Murray to find and elaborate them. But some of the climate of totality is perplexingly entangled with the fact of universal technocracy—which leads me to my second point.

In his program for the development of limited thermonuclear weapons, Mr. Murray suggests that a balance must be found among the potential of these weapons, the demands of war and the rights of civilians. Again, Mr. Murray does not see an easy solution to this problem, and he admits that the final answer must be found in the wisdom and maturity of war leaders. However, the obvious temptation is to search for this balance from the experience of the Christian past and the application of universal morality to the wars which it knew.

Christian tradition and the hand of the Church have helped to lead the West away from the notion of total war and toward a limitation of the quantity and quality of combatants. Yet there is a danger in searching here for the answer. The emergence of the advanced societies—the powerful ones—each an interwoven, essentially interdependent fabric of technology and economics, renders them essentially different from those societies which have been the subject of Christian reflection in the past. . . .

It has been only in the last hundred years that a national productive economy has

been the direct object of military strategy. Thus, to say that Christian morality has contributed to the limitation of war is only to say that in the past it has not existed simultaneously with the conditions necessary for total war.

Nor can it be argued that the application of Christian principles had any substantial effect in limiting the destruction of civilian populations in World War II. . . .

[The] formula which permitted the destruction of legitimate technological targets as the primary end, and the destruction of adjacent civilian areas as an undesired secondary effect, did not place any real limitation on the scope of civilian destruction. . . .

As society progresses on its path toward specialization, the skills of each specialty become as essential to the production of war goods as the physical materials with which they are made. If a highly polished lens is an absolute necessity for high-level bombsights, then why not also the technician without whose artistry no machine could produce it?

Who Is a Combatant?

The home-consumption propaganda and manpower mobilization efforts of World War II made much of this point. Was not the "swing shift" worker contributing as much to the war effort as the man at the front? Were not thousands of essential workers deferred from military service for precisely this reason? We were reminded that the soldier could not fight without shoes, jackets, canned meat, drugs, USO units and letters from home. . . . If this merging of the civilian and the military was a valid principle on the home front, why not then for the men who detailed the destruction of Kawasaki and Cologne?

Thus the historical application of the concept of the civilian versus the combatant lies impotent, in its present form, before the conditions of an essentially different society. The principles which are to define the image of a civilian whose rights must be considered in war cannot be found in the application of moral principles which the past has made, for the past has not embraced war or the civilian in the same way.

Rather, the eternal moral verities which transcend all historical societies must be reapplied in the light of a critical examination of the rights and obligations of a civilian in the complex national war-making potential of his day. It is here that the Catholic moralist must find the principles which will guide war leaders toward a limited war.

MICHAEL E. SCHILTZ
Department of History
Loyola University

Chicago, Ill.

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